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CONTENTS

PAGE

Portrait of Isaac Sharpless . . . . . *Frontispiece*

Isaac Sharpless (1848--1920) and Bibliography 90

Journal of Peter Andrews (1707--1750). Joseph Joshua Green 100

Revolutionary Journal of Margaret Morris, Conclusion, with Illustration 103

Papunahung, the Indian Chief . . . Amelia M. Gummere 114

A Visit to Friends in Charleston, S. C. 1819. Ellis Yarnall 118

An Eighteenth Century Frenchman on American Quakerism 128

Books of Interest to Friends 130

Notes and Queries 137

Correction 140

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ISAAC SHARPLESS

1848–1920.

It is fitting that we should record our great sense of loss in the recent death of Isaac Sharpless, LL.D., late President of Haverford College, who was in fact the founder of the Friends' Historical Society and its first President. To him more than to any other we owe the organization of this body, which was the outcome of the Centennial celebration at Friends' Meeting House at Fourth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, in the summer of 1904.

On that remarkable occasion, before an audience of twenty-three hundred, Isaac Sharpless, in his own inimitable way, reviewed the social conditions among Philadelphia Friends a century before. When the souvenir book of the Centennial was published soon after, his Introduction, which was also the first official publication of this Society, contained the following striking paragraph: "It is well occasionally to look into the past, and gather up the standards and principles of our ancestors in the faith. It is well if it lead us to reconsecrate ourselves to the cause for which they wrought—the pure religion of Christ. We may not adopt all their methods; the testimonies which they upheld may in part be replaced by others more vital to our day. But those among us who see beneath the surface will feel no disposition to build on any other groundwork than theirs, nor to adopt modes of action essentially out of harmony with their principles. The lack of historic background, while compatible with much Christian goodness and zeal and openness of mind, seems, when applied to congregations, to lead to opportunism; the selection of methods dictated by the emergencies of the present, and to destroy that continuity of principle so essential to the preservation of the type. If the spirit and motives of the best Friends of the past were known and read by all of us who bear the name of Friend, they would be interwoven through our lives as through the pages of prophecy is interwoven, 'thus saith the Lord.'" With this most characteristic setting forth of the principles which he felt should guide the future acts of this Historical Society, we

may pause for a moment's backward glance at the career of this Quaker historian.

Isaac Sharpless, son of Aaron and Susanna (Forsythe) Sharpless, was born December 16th, 1848. A ponderous quarto tome of over 1300 pages, published in 1887, preserves the record of the immigrant ancestor John Sharpless and the thousands of his substantial progeny in the community in which Isaac Sharpless was a birthright Friend. The farm of his father and grandfather Isaac Sharpless, where he was born, had been the homestead of the family for several generations. It lay at the foot of Osborne Hill among the gently undulating hills of East Bradford, now (since 1856) Birmingham Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania. The impressionable years of boyhood were spent here, where his daily walks took him over the historic battlefield of the Brandywine, and where the semi-weekly worship of the family led a little southeasterly to Birmingham Friends' Meeting House (Orthodox)—the old Meeting House of the "Hicksite" body near by having served as the hospital on the battle ground.

He was a diligent reader of the choice collection of books in the old Birmingham Library, supported by members of that meeting and others. From this little library fiction was carefully excluded but its absence was filled by a double portion of biography, history, travel and popular science. From childhood he had listened to Revolutionary tales of the neighborhood and had seen the graves of the British and American soldiers in the burial ground at the old Meeting House. Doubtless these early influences told upon his career, which began among the historic surroundings in which he grew up, but it was his home training that had more to do in making him what he was than the historic features of the country. His first school was that conducted by Friends near the Meeting House.

From Birmingham Isaac Sharpless went to Westtown School in November, 1862, where, after completing its course of study, he returned to teach mathematics in 1868, and where the next autumn, his parents came and resided for five years as Superintendent and Matron. With the exception of one year—1872–3—spent at Harvard, where he obtained the degree of Bachelor of

Science in the Lawrence Scientific School, Isaac Sharpless remained at Westtown. In the autumn of 1875 he was appointed Instructor of Mathematics at Haverford College, where he spent the remainder of his useful life. In 1876 (August 10th) he married Lydia Trimble Cope, daughter of Paschal and Amy A. Cope of West Chester, Pennsylvania. She survives him, with one son and five daughters.

In 1879 Isaac Sharpless was made Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy, in which capacity he served until 1884. Readers of Philadelphia periodicals will recall the able articles, on the aspect of the heavens at different periods, which constantly appeared over his signature during those years, and which, together with the reports from the Haverford Observatory, made its service known throughout the academic world, both here and in Europe.

For three years he served as Dean of the College, when he was elected President in 1887. His Honorary Degrees were, 1883, Sc.D. from the University of Pennsylvania; 1889, LL.D. from Swarthmore College; 1903, L.H.D. from Hobart College; 1915, LL.D. from Harvard.

His first literary efforts are to be found in the bound MS. volumes of "The Cabinet," a monthly periodical supported by the teachers and older students of Westtown. His contributions "always possessed a virility which distinguished them from others." A contemporary says of him: "The slow progress of educational matters in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting rested strongly upon his mind." The autumn of 1880 witnessed the advent of "The Student," a modest little monthly magazine "devoted to the interests of education in the Society of Friends." The editors and publishers were Isaac Sharpless and Watson W. Dewees, and it is a striking fact that "it was the first venture of the kind in the history of American Quakerism." Its management changed at the end of four years, but during that period there were several signed articles which were characteristic, besides his editorials. Any attempt to write the history of education in the Society of Friends must take into account the conspicuous part played by Isaac Sharpless in Philadelphia in the early 80's of the last cen-

tury. When the "Westonian" appeared in 1895 it had his unqualified support, and his contributions are to be found in the appended bibliography.

Isaac Sharpless' best monument is the college into which entered his whole personality. Here for thirty years he remained, much beloved and universally respected; a virile figure, with something of the old time simplicity which left its impress on every student who sat under him. It was his custom throughout to keep in personal touch with every class entering college by teaching two of their courses himself. He has unconsciously given us a true picture of himself in his book, "The American College," in which he describes the ideal college President:

" . . . He is not primarily a taskmaster or disciplinarian, but a man who is giving his life for a cause, and not only for an abstract cause, but for (men) as individuals; that he has a message for them which he must deliver, and that he feels that the very future of one or more of them lies in the proper use of that power. When he feels thus, he will preach, and his sermon will not be forgotten by some of them."

Not only was he serious in his ideals; he was full of the humor which one finds in a Lincoln. When applauded for a long time at the Haverford Alumni Dinner of 1918, he said: "I clearly understand that the most popular thing I ever did as President of Haverford was to resign." He often told the story, repeated by Dean Briggs in one of his books, about his conversation with a certain college culprit: I.S.: "I have reason to believe that thee is both a thief and a liar!" Answer: "President Sharpless, I may be a liar, but I give you my word I'm not a thief!" It was this ability to loosen a tight situation, to use the solvent of a telling epigram, that contributed markedly to his great and lasting influence.

Isaac Sharpless's pedagogic inclinations, and perhaps his humor may have come from his greatgrandfather, John Forsythe (1754–1840), a sandy-haired, gay young Presbyterian from Ireland who later joined Friends and became noted as a teacher at Birmingham and at Westtown.

In addition to his Presidency, 1904–1911, of Friends' Historical

Society of Philadelphia, he was active in other historical work, serving as Executive Councillor, 1905–1916, and President, 1909–1912, of the Pennsylvania History Club; Vice President, 1914–1915, and President, 1915–1916, of Friends' Historical Society of England; member of the Committee of Seven Advisers to the Works of William Penn, 1910–1920, and Councillor, 1910–1920, of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. His books quickly gained for him high repute for insight into human motives, sympathetic yet unbiased interpretation of Quaker policies, scientific care in the weighing of evidence, and a corresponding moderation in the statement of conclusions. Thus his was a foremost place among the historians of Pennsylvania.

An equally high ideal was held up to all who followed Isaac Sharpless in his work for clean politics, since his interests were sufficiently wide to impress the reader of his record with his accomplishments in the quiet life which sought no lime-light outside the circle of his duty. His personality, for this very reason, extended his efforts for the realization of his ideals to his college, his neighborhood and his country. The mind of the man was strictly accountable to a sensitive conscience. Duty and not expediency always determined his course, and the history of Quakerism and of his State will be the poorer for his loss. Though he had been appointed as one of the Commission, upon the revision of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, the condition of his health did not permit him to serve. His death occurred at his home at Haverford, January 16th, 1920, interment being made at Haverford Friends' Meeting House.

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JOURNAL OF PETER ANDREWS (1707–1750).

In reply to the query in the BULLETIN for 5th month, 1919 (p. 42), which I have only just seen, I am not quite sure whether this refers to an *American Journal* or otherwise. It may however be of interest to readers to speak of a MS. copy of Peter Andrews's *English Journal* (1755–6), in my possession. It is contained in one of two folio volumes in the neat and excellent caligraphy of John Perry, a Quaker minister of Ipswich, who died in 1824, aged 70. He was brother to Daniel Perry of Woodbridge, my wife's great-grandfather, which accounts for our possession of these two interesting volumes, almost wholly consisting of copies of Quaker journals, biographies, letters and miscellaneous pieces. The folio containing the *Journal of Peter Andrews* consists of 272 pages bound in parchment, the latter portion of this volume from page 249 being in the hand of John Perry, Junior, whose valuable *Diary* I also possess. There is no date to indicate when this MS. was compiled, but it is much later than the other, the index of which is dated 1778. The Journal is continued with the supplement on pp. 1 to 28 both inclusive, and is headed, *A Brief Journal of the Travels and Labours in the Gospel, of Peter Andrews, whilst in England, Written by Himself.* He commences: "In the Year 1775, being ye 4th Month 27th I set out from Home, staid at Philadelphia til ye first Day of ye 5th Month, then travel'd to Chester, and went on board the Ship Lydia, Peter Reeve, Captain; sail'd that night to Newcastle, then came to Anchor, after that came on ye Wide ocean," etc. There follows an interesting account of this voyage, meetings on board, etc. He landed eventually 2–vi–1755 on the Isle of Wight, then to Portsmouth by water, and on 4–vi month, by post, chaise to London, where he met "my Ancient & well Esteemed Friend Samuel Hopwood," etc. He lodged at Daniel and Mary Weston's when in London, the latter a Friend he had known in America and highly valued.

The *Journal* proceeds to recount his various travels throughout the country and is particularly interesting as containing such a

large number of names of persons and places. He firstly visited London meetings, then proceeds to York and Yorkshire, and the following is the order in which he visited the meetings of Friends, etc., which is a remarkably extensive list, considering the short time allotted him. After Yorkshire he proceeded to the shires, etc., of Lincoln, Durham, York (again), Derby, York, Lincoln, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, London, Essex (again), where he heard of the death of his dear daughter Temperance, aged nineteen; and mentions his wife and son Benajah. Then to Herts, Bedford, Bucks, Oxford, Gloucester, Oxford and Gloucester again, Bristol City, to Somerset, Wilts, Oxford, Middlesex, London, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk; and the Journal ends at Edmundsbury (Bury St. Edmunds), Norfolk, 25–vi–1756. "Here our Friend left off his narrative, says the writer of the supplementary account of his last days, which is interesting. He was taken ill and stayed for a short time at Woodbridge, Suffolk, and in spite of failing powers proceeded to his Friend John Oxley's at Norwich, where he died 13–vii–1756, and was buried in Friends' Burial Ground there 18–vii month, where was a very large gathering of Friends and others at his burial." "Few Friends (says the supplement) who have travelled in this nation have been more approved or had more general service in so short a space of time." Peter Andrews upon his deathbed referred to his wife and children, so that he evidently had more than the two named previously.

Since writing the above, I have come across an interesting allusion to Peter Andrews in the valuable diary kept at Jordans, Bucks, by Rebekah Butterfield, in the 18th century, the original of which is at Devonshire House Reference Library. After 15–iv–1756, Peter was in counties Bedford, Hertford and Buckingham, had, as his *Journal* relates, "an Even^{g} Meet^{g} at Chesham, then travel'd to Wickham, [High Wycombe], here I had a Large Meet^{g} in ye Even^{g} w^{ch} I hope was not disgraceful, [*i.e.*, did not discredit truth], Lodg^{d} at Jo^{s} Worsters, then pass'd on to Jordans, where I had a Large Comfortable Meet^{g}; then travel'd forward," etc.

PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

The Butterfield diary written at Stone Dean, Jordans, says under date "1st day, 4th mo. 25th. William Pits, [of Southwark], & Peter Andrews was at Jor: Meett: Peter came from Wickham on 7th d[ay] Joseph Stevens Junier Came wth him; he Lives at West Jersey In America & a friend from London wth him; Lodged & entertain'd at A[braham] b[utterfield]s [R. B's husband], & Prince [Butterfield, their son] went wth them after Meet: to Maiddenhead."

The London Friend who accompanied Peter to Jordans was perhaps "one James Healy from Wapping, an Inocent Young Man" previously named in the *Journal* as bearing him company on his travels.

I may perhaps be allowed to add that the Perry manuscript also contains the *Journal* of Susannah Morris, of Richland, township of Bucks, Pennsylvania, upon her second visit to Great Britain, etc., in 1744, then in her sixty-third year, with a preface by John Griffith, dated 1771, who first remembered her when he was a youth of fourteen as belonging to the same meeting, that of Abington, ten miles from Philadelphia. He speaks also of her third visit to Great Britain, and of her earlier one in 1731.

After the *Journal* is a long undated letter from Susannah Morris to her husband and children when she was in England. There is also an account dated 1775 by her niece Deborah Morris of her last illness; in all some 26 pp. folio closely written. We also find from the Butterfield Diary that Susannah Morris was at Jordans Meeting in 1729, 1745 and 1752; and Sarah Morris of America, in 1773, and there are many other references to visits to Jordans Meeting by American Friends. These include the following names, viz., Elizabeth Ashbridge (1754), of Pennsylvania; Thomas Carrington (1778); Thomas Chalkley (1735); John Churchman (1750); Phoebe Dodge, of Long Island (1753); Elizabeth Drinker (1794); Samuel and Ann Galloway, of Maryland (1719); John Griffith, of Pennsylvania (1749, 1752, 1757, 1762, 1769); Jane Hoskins, of Pennsylvania (1750); Elizabeth Hudson, of Philadelphia (1750); William Hunt (1771); Ann Jessup (1785); Arthur (or Arster) Jones, of Pennsylvania (1732,

1738); Rebecca Jones (1788); Ebenezer Large, of West New Jersey, Burlington (1746); William Matthews (or Matthies) (1785); Elizabeth Morgan, of Philadelphia (1745); Ann Moore, of Baltimore (1761); John Pemberton, of Philadelphia (1750); Edward Penington, of Pennsylvania (1749); Mary Pennel, of New Concord, Chester County, Pennsylvania (1732); Samuel Smith (1791); Daniel Stanton, of Philadelphia (1750); Thomas Thornborough (1771); William Tomlinson (1785); Robert Valentine (1784); Sarah Worall, of Chester County, Middletown, Pennsylvania (1754); and Joseph White "of ye falls" Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

Joseph Joshua Green.

Godwyn Lodge,
Clive Vale,
Hastings, England, 5 ii 1920.

REVOLUTIONARY JOURNAL OF MARGARET MORRIS OF BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY. III, CONCLUSION.

Jan. 12. We are told to-day of the robbery of one of the commissaries; the sum lost is said to be £10,000. I have not heard who is suspected of committed the robbery. The Earl of B—n,[35] who quitted his habitation on the first alarm of the Hessians coming in, is returned with his family. We have some hopes that our refugee will be presented with a pair of lawn sleeves, when dignities become cheap, and suppose he will then think himself too *big* to creep into his old auger-hole;[36] but I shall remind him of the *place,* if I live to see him created first B—p of B—n [Bishop of Burlington].

Jan. 13. Several of the *tories,* who went out of town while the gondolas were here, are returned, on hearing there has been a general jail-delivery at Philadelphia. One man, who thought

[35] "Earl of Burlington" ironical. Dr. Jonathan Odell.

[36] See *ante,* p. 12, note.

himself immovable, has been compelled to swear or sign allegiance to the States.

Jan. 14. The *lie* of the day runs thus; that the New Englandmen have taken Long Island, are in possession of King's Bridge, that Hen. Lee is retaken by his own men, the regulars in a desperate condition intrenching at Brunswick, and quite hopeless of gaining any advantage over the Americans in this campaign. A letter from my amiable friend, E. C.,[37] informs me her husband's battalion was in the front of the battle at ——, and behaved remarkably well; they took 200 prisoners, and left 80 on the field; he acknowledges the preserving hand of Providence in bringing him safe through such a scene of blood, &c. I hear Gen. Howe sent a request to Washington, desiring three days cessation of arms, to take care of the wounded, and bury the dead, which was refused; what a woful tendency war has to harden the human heart against the tender feelings of humanity! Well it may be called a *horrid art,* thus to change the nature of man. I thought that even barbarous nations had a sort of religious regard for their dead. A friend from Trenton tells me poor A. [Anthony] Morris died in three hours after he was wounded and was buried in Friends' burying-ground, at Stony Brook. Also Capt. [William] Shippen was buried by him. The same friend told us that a man was killed in his bed at the house of Stacey Potts, at Trenton, in the time of the engagement there, and that Potts's daughter, about the age of nine, went from home to lodge, the night preceding the battle, and returning in the morning, just as she stepped into her father's door, a ball met her (being directed by the unerring hand of Providence), took the comb out of her hair, and gently grazed the skin of her head without doing her any farther injury: who shall dare to say they are shot at random?

Jan. 15. I was a good deal affected this evening, at seeing the hearse in which Gen. Mercer's body was conveyed over the river on the ice, to be buried in Philadelphia; poor Capt. Shippen's body was also taken over at the same time, to be reburied at Philadelphia. P. Reed gave us the following account of a report they heard from a man, whom her sister sent to Burlington

[37] Esther (or Hetty) Cox.

GREEN BANK, BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY

Scene of the Revolutionary Journal of Margaret Morris. From an old Lithograph of a Drawing by John Collins, of Burlington

to bring some things they were in want of (the night the last soldiers came into town). Reed's wife hired a wagon to come here, and got one of her neighbors to come and fetch some of her goods. Just as the man began to lead the wagon, the soldiers came running into town, and the man whipped up his horses and drove away his goods. When he got to Reed's house in the country, he told them there was 10,000 wagons in Burlington, that Gen. Washington, Lee, Howe, and all the Americans were engaged in battle, in Burlington, that Washington was mortally wounded, and the streets were full of dead bodies, and that the groans of the dying were still in his ears. They opened their letters in fearful haste, and found nothing relative to what the man told them, nor could they convince him that his fright had magnified the matter, till they sent a person up here to inquire.

.....[38] part were permitted to come back for a change of linen, but obliged to return to Bordentown again in order to be taken before Gen. Putnam to have a hearing, etc.

Jan. 31, 1777. The scruples of my own mind being satisfied in keeping my son here till the search was over, I felt peace in the prospect of sending him to my dear brother, C. M.,[39] and now that he is gone from me, I feel like a merchant who has ventured *half* his fortune out to sea, anxious for the success of the voyage; oh that it may be a prosperous one to my dear boy; then shall I be happy.

Feb. 3. To-day appeared in print a proclamation of Gen. Washington's, ordering all persons who had taken protection of the king's commissioners, to come in thirty days, and swear allegiance to the United States of America, or else repair with their families to the lines of the British troops. What will become of our refugee now?

Feb. 4. To-day eight boats full of soldiers sailed up the river to join the continental forces; they appeared to be very merry with their drums beating and their colors flying; this is said to

[38] One sheet (two pages) of the manuscript is unfortunately missing here.

[39] Dr. Charles Moore living at Montgomery Square, Pennsylvania.

be the day appointed for our friends, who are prisoners to have a hearing before Putnam; a man, who is not a lover of peace, told us it was expected there would be bloody work on the occasion.

Feb. 6. Several hundred soldiers, who were returning from the camp, were quartered on the inhabitants, and in general, I hear behaved well.

Feb. 7. All the soldiers quartered on the town last night, went away to-day. The prisoners taken from our town and Mount Holly, discharged and returned home; several of them much fatigued, and some sick.

Feb. 11. This evening two doctors were brought into town, and put into prison, for inoculating in their families, contrary to the orders of Gen. Putnam, who had prohibited them from inoculating. They were discharged in a few days.

April 10.[40] John Lawrence, Thomas Watson, and several other persons obnoxious to the State, were imprisoned here, and divers others bound over to their good behavior, and to appear at the next court, to be held,—*none knows where.*

April 17. A number of flat-bottomed boats went up the river and landed troops at Bristol. It is said 1500 men are billeted on the inhabitants there.

April 19. A report that there has been an engagement between the British troops and Americans; the latter victorious. B. Helm summoned before the governor, and bound to answer at the next court for preferring silver dollars to paper. The English said to be in motion, and that the fleet is in the river.

May 7. Captain Webb and his family came here in order to set off the next day for New York, having received orders from the governor to depart the State. Just as they were retiring to bed, a captain of the light-horse arrived with a party of soldiers, and demanded the keys of his trunks, some of which they opened, and searched for letters, and took all they could find, and guarded him to his lodging, at R. Smith's, and were all night in his room. They set a guard over his goods, and in the morning returned and

[40] No reason is given in the Journal for this long intermission of entries. The one or two letters of the period which are given in the "Letters of the Hill Family" are also silent.

examined all his trunks, and then waited on him to Philadelphia, where he was to wait on the general, and answer to sundry charges, one of which was, that he was suspected of being a spy; this he boldly cleared himself of. Another was that he had, in a sermon he preached about two years ago, told the people that if they took up arms against the king, they would be d—d; he likewise pleaded innocent to this, and finding that they could not prove it on him, they referred him to the governor, who reproved him for not taking advantage of a pass he had granted him, two or three weeks ago, and absolutely prohibited him from prosecuting his journey to [New] York, and ordered him to repair with his family to Bethlehem, there to remain during their pleasure, and confined him to a magic circle of six miles.

May 13. The court met here, when several persons confined in our jail—(some tories)—were examined. John Lawrence released; Dan'l Ellis imprisoned, and J. Carty fined *sixpence* for contempt of court; several ordered back to prison; and R. Smith,[41] B. Helm, T. Hulings, and Colin Campbell examined; R. Smith ordered to pay £100 or be confined in prison; he chose the latter, and accordingly took possession of the room J. L. had quitted; the oaths offered to the three others, which they refusing were fined.

May 26. This day Captain Webb and his family left us to go to Bethlehem. W. D.[42] who some days since received a passport from General Washington, set out for New York the widow Allen accompanying him.

June 7. The reports often coming by expresses, give us reason to believe the English army are in motion, and it is generally supposed they intend to bend their course to Philadelphia.

June 10. A person from the camp came to town to engage a number of guides (to go back with him) who were well acquainted with the different roads to Philadelphia, that in case our people should be obliged to retreat they may not be at a loss.

June 11. Certain intelligence arrived, per express, that the English are at Bound Brook, the Americans at Morristown.

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[41] This was Richard Smith.

[42] William Dillwyn, brother of George Dillwyn.

June 13. Early this morning the soldiers beat to march from Bristol, and in the course of the day several boats full of soldiers, with the Pennsylvania militia, sailed up the river.

June 14. Before daylight this morning, the alarm guns at Princeton, Trenton, Bordentown, and Bristol were fired, and answered by those below. About 9 o'clock, the gondolas and barges again began to appear in sight, and from that time till 9 at night, there have gone up the river five or six gondolas. Several flat-bottomed boats are also gone to Bristol. There is a report of a battle to-day, which seems probable, as we have heard much firing above.

We were told by a woman who lodged in the same room where Gen. Read [Reed] & Col. Cox took shelter when the battle of Trenton dispersed the Americans that they, Read & Cox—had laid awake all night consulting together about the best means of securing themselves & that they came to the determination of setting out next day as soon as it was light, to the British Camp, and joining them with all the men under their command—but when morning came, an express arrived with an account that the Americans had gained a great victory—the English made to flee before the ragged regiments of the Americans—this report put the rebel General & Colonel into high spirits & they concluded to remain firm to the cause of America. They paid me a visit, & tho in my heart I despised them, treated them civilly, & was on the point of telling them their conversation the preceding night had been conveyed to me, as on the wings of the wind, but on second thoughts gave it up, tho perhaps the time may come when they will hear more about it.[43]

[43] This whole paragraph is omitted in John Jay Smith's reprint in "Letters of the Hill Family," without indication or remark. It is possible that it was not given in his copy, but it is more likely that the omission was designedly made. In 1837 and in 1854 it was still too near the time to publish such a story without occasioning unpleasant discussion. At this time, however, there seems no reason for withholding it. Whether the story is true, or not, is impossible to decide now. When the character of the age, and the actual conditions—military and political—are rightly judged, there is much, at least, to palliate, if not to excuse. The American cause was almost desperate, and had not Washington succeeded at Prince-

By a person from Bordentown, we hear twelve expresses came in there from camp. Some of the gondola men and their wives being sick, and no doctor in town to apply to, they were told that Mrs. M. was a skilful woman, and kept medicines to give to the poor; and notwithstanding their late attempts to shoot my poor boy, they ventured to come to me, and, in a very humble manner begged me to come and do something for them. At first I thought they might have a design to put a trick on me, and get me aboard of their gondola, and then pillage my house, as they had done to some others; but on asking where the sick folks were, was told they were lodged in the governor's house. So I went to see them. There was several both men and women, very ill with a fever—some said the camp, or putrid fever; they were broke out in blotches, and, on close examination, it appeared to be the itch fever. I treated them according to art, and they all got well. I thought I had received all my pay, when they thankfully acknowledged my kindness, but lo! in a short time afterwards, a very rough, ill-looking man came to the door and asked for me. When I went to him, he drew me aside and asked if I had any friends in Philadelphia. The question alarmed me, supposing there was some mischief meditated against that poor city; however, I calmly said: "I have an ancient father-in-law, some sisters, and other near friends there." "Well," said the man, "do you wish to hear from them, or send anything by way of refreshment to them? If you do, I will take charge of it, and bring you back anything you may send for." I was very much surprised, and thought, to be sure, he only wanted to get provisions to take to the gondolas, when he told me his wife was one of those I had given medicine to, and this was the only thing he could do

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ton, the result, without doubt, would have been almost fatal for the Americans. Knowing this, the reported decision of the two officers was not unnatural. Those who are familiar with the inner history of those days are aware that the character of General Joseph Reed as a politician and as a patriot has been the subject of bitter controversy almost to our own day. There seems little doubt that Margaret Morris herself put full credence in the story as told to her. The paragraph, as here printed, appears in "Nuts for Future Historians to Crack," by Horace W. Smith, Philadelphia, 1856, page 10.

to pay me for my kindness. My heart leaped with joy, and I set about preparing something for my dear absent friends. A quarter of beef, some veal, fowls, and flour were soon put up, and about midnight the man called and took them aboard his boat. He left them at Robert Hopkins's at the Point, from whence my beloved friends took them to town; and, two nights after, a loud knocking at our front door greatly alarmed us. Opening the chamber window, we heard a man's voice saying, "Come down softly and open the door but bring no light." There was something mysterious in such a call, and we concluded to go down and set the candle in the kitchen. When we got to the front door, we asked, "Who are you?" The man replied, "A friend, open quickly;" so the door was opened, and who should it be but our honest gondola man, with a letter, a bushel of salt, a jug of molasses, a bag of rice, some tea, coffee, and sugar, and some cloth for my poor boys—all sent by my kind sisters. How did our hearts and eyes overflow with love to them, and thanks to our Heavenly Father, for such seasonable supplies. May we never forget it. Being now so rich, we thought it our duty to hand out a little to the poor around us who were mourning for want of salt; so we divided the bushel, and gave a pint to every poor person that came for it, and had a great plenty for our own use. Indeed, it seemed as if our little store increased by distributing it, like the bread broken by our Saviour to the multitude, which, when he had blessed it, was so marvellously multiplied.

One morning, having left my chamber at an earlier hour than usual, and casting my eyes towards the river, was surprised to see some hundreds of boats all filled with British soldiers I ran to my dear G. D.'s[44] room, and begged him to get up and see the sight. He went to the window, and I waited to hear what he would say; but as he said nothing, I called out to him "Brother, what shall we do now?" He opened his door, and sweetly and calmly said, "Let us, my sister, keep still and quiet; I believe no harm will happen to us;" and indeed we were favored with remarkable stillness; even the children seemed to partake of it. The boats were ordered up the river to Bordentown, to burn all

[44] George Dilwyn, her brother-in-law.

the gondolas. Poor Rob't Sutton and his son passing my door, I stopped him, and asked where he was going; he said to join the soldiers to march to Bordentown, for the English were going to burn it, and on their return would do the same to Burlington. I begged him not to go, and said, perhaps he would be killed; he said he would go for all that—next day we heard he was killed. The report was, that some of the militia had fired on the English boats as they were rowing up the river; the firing was returned, and poor Sutton was the first, if not the only one killed; the last boat we saw was a small one, with only three men and the rowers in it; they were not soldiers: when the came opposite to the town wharf they stopped rowing and pulled off their hats and bowed to the people on the wharf. We heard afterwards it was our poor refugee, Dr. S. Burling, and J. Stansbury, who intended to have come on shore and paid us a visit, but so many people appearing on the wharf & street, they thought it safest to take to their oars and follow the fleet. One large vessel, with cannon, was in the fleet, and when they returned, were ordered to fire if they saw soldiers on the wharf, or about the streets. It seems the soldiers had notice of the time when they were to return, and they placed themselves along the shore, quite down to the ferry; it was First-day afternoon, and all the family but myself gone to meeting, and I was laying on the bed, and hearing a large gun, looked out of the window, and saw the large ship so close to our landing that I thought they were coming ashore; when behold! they fired two or three of their great guns, which shook the house, and went through the walls of our next door neighbor, who was a captain the rebel army. I still kept at the window, unapprehensive of danger, and seeing a man on the deck talking, and pointing to my house, one of them said, "In that house lives a woman to whom I am indebted for my life; she sheltered me when I was driven from my own house." &c. This I was afterwards told by a person who heard it; it is needless to add it was our poor refugee. I really think they have made an end of the gondolas for we see nothing like them. I hope never to see another. A rebel quarter-master, who had received some little civilities from my S. D. and myself, asked me one day if I did

not wish to see my friends in Philadelphia; I said it was the wish nearest my heart; he said he would accompany me as far as Frankfort, if I would promise to take no kind of provision with me, and that he would meet me at the same place, and conduct me home again. Such an offer was not to be slighted. I went to my friend A. O.,[45] and asked her if she would venture to bear me company. She joyfully agreed, and we borrowed a horse and chair, and early next morning set out. Our quarter-master being our guard, and good neighbor J[ames]. V[eree]. went with us to the ferry, to see us safe over. We got to A. James's place in the afternoon, and sent notice to our friends in town, and next morning my father [-in-law], brothers Moore and Wells, and my two sisters, with Dr. O. met us at Kensington, for they dared not go farther, that being the British lines. I believe there never was a more heart-tendering meeting. I had not seen my father and sisters for many months, and the dangers we were surrounded with, and the probability of this being the last time we might meet on earth, together with the reports of the great scarcity of provisions in town, and a thousand other things, all contributed to make it an awfully affecting meeting. My sisters went to A. J.'s place and dined with me. A. O. stayed with her husband till evening, when my dear sisters left me and returned to town. The parting was almost too much for me. I thought we were taking a last farewell of each other, but part we must; they went to town, and Nancy [A. O.] and myself retired soon to bed, expecting our quarter-master to call on us by daylight, but no news did we hear of him; but a heavy firing in the morning made us fearful we should not get safe home. About nine o'clock some stragglers stopped at our quarters, and said there had been a skirmish between the English and the Americans, and, more terrible still, that parties were ordered out to bring in all they should meet with; this intelligence made us conclude to venture homewards without our guide; we got into our chair and whipped and cut our dull horse at a strange rate. Several parties passed and repassed, and questioned us about whence we came, and where we

[45] Mrs. Anne Odell, wife of Dr. Odell, "our refugee," who was in Philadelphia at this time.

were going—they said if we were going to Burlington, we should be stopped at the ferry and taken to Washington's head-quarters, for there was a report that women had been into town and brought out goods. We kept our minds pretty calm, hoping that if we got safe to the ferry, as we were so well known, we should meet no more dangers, and we got along well till we got to the hill beyond the Red Lion, which being very bad, and we still pressing our poor horse to make more haste, he made one violent exertion to reach the top of the hill, when to our utter dismay the swingletree broke, and the chair began to roll down the hill. We both jumped out at the same instant; Nancy held the horse while I rolled a stone behind the wheel, and there we stood afraid to stir from the horse, and thinking we should be obliged to leave the chair and lead the horse home. At last we ventured to the door of a small house hard by; a man came out and with the help of Nancy's ribbons and my garters fixed us off, and we once again mounted the chair, and walked the horse till we came near the Bristol road, where we heard the ferry was guarded, and none suffered to cross. However, we kept on, and at length reached the ferry, where, instead of armed men, we could hardly find one man to put us over. At last we got over, and now being on our own shore, we began like people just escaped from shipwreck, to review the dangers past, and congratulate ourselves on our arrival in a safe port; and I hope not without a sincere, though silent acknowledgment of the good hand that had vouchsafed to bring us so far on our way to our lonely habitations. When we arrived at my door, my beloved S. D. had the neighbors and children all sitting with her; her tender anxious mind filled with apprehensions for our safety. As we had stayed a day longer than we had intended, it was conjectured by our wise neighbor, J. V.,[46] that some terrible thing had happened; nothing less than that the horse, which was his, had been seized, and we kept in Philadelphia. Rd. Smith, who lent the chair, was equally alarmed for the fate of his cariage; and S. H.,[47] who loudly exclaimed against the expedition, said we were certainly carried to

[46] James Verree.

[47] S. H.: possibly Sarah Helm.

head-quarters; and as Nancy's husband was in the British pay, it would go hard with her for his sake; but, behold; all their wise conjectures proved like the croaking of the raven, an ill-omened bird that brings good tidings to none, for in the midst of it all we appeared before them in our proper persons, before our arrival was announced. Some cried out, where's the horse? where's the chair? where have you been? &c. We gayly told them all was safe, then sat down to a good dish of tea, and rehearsed all we had seen, heard, and suffered; when we were seriously advised never to engage again in such a perilous undertaking; and we as seriously assured them that if we did, we would look out for a stronger horse and chair, and be our own guide, for that our late expedition so far from being a discouragement, was like a whet to a hungry man, which gave him a better appetite for his dinner.

[The manuscript ends here: whether there was any more is not known.—EDITOR.]

PAPUNAHUNG, THE INDIAN CHIEF.

There are certain characters among the Indians of the colonial period who are deserving of greater notice than they have yet received at the hands of the historian. Shikellamy and Teedyuscung in Pennsylvania, and Philip and Massasoit in Rhode Island, with others in the south and west are more or less known, but there is one Indian especially associated with Philadelphia Quakers and with John Woolman, who deserves more attention than he has received in one or two very inadequate pamphlets.

This Sachem is known as Papoonahal or Papunahung—the name has several curious variations. He was a native Delaware Indian of the Minsi tribe, born about 1705. Bishop de Schweinitz places him prominently among the savage preachers, somewhat like their "medicine men," who attempted to counteract the influence of the two devoted Moravian missionaries, whose efforts in Pennsylvania were only second in point of time and heroism to those of the early Jesuit Fathers on the borders of Canada and

the Great Lakes. These savages defied all efforts to introduce civilized ways or ideas of peace. They wrought upon the fierce and warlike nature of the red man, and for a period of thirty years or more aided the official "medicine men" or conjurors to keep open the war-path.

About the year 1745 David Zeisberger, a Moravian missionary, whose life has been admirably written by the late Bishop de Schweinitz, was sent by the Moravian church at Bethlehem—Count Zinzendorf's settlement, then but three years old—to the village on the Susquehanna of which Papunahung was chief. This was M'hwikilusing or Wyalusing, meaning "The Place of the Hoary Veteran." The name was a tribute to its age, since the colonial records state that it was even then a trading point, settled by the Indians before the memory of man. Its old name is still retained. The first white man to visit the spot was probably Conrad Weiser, the famous Indian Commissioner of the colony, who was there in 1737. He was followed in 1743 by our own John Bartram, who, with the Commissioner and Indian guides, accompanied the explorer, Lewis Evans, over the trail. They were said to be the first to make the journey on horseback. Two years later, David Zeisberger with Gottlieb (afterward Bishop) Spangenberger, and Weiser and Indian guides, passed through Wyalusing on their way to the Genessee country, hoping to obtain from the Iroquois permission for their Indian converts to settle in the Wyoming region. Some of the Indian villages on this journey were partly Christianized by these devoted men, and Papunahung was among the converts. But the powerful Iroquois soon after exterminated the weaker tribes, and Wyalusing for several years lay in ruins.

In 1752, Papunahung, who had lived through these troubles at the Indian village of Nain with other converts of the Moravians, brought his own and a few other families and rebuilt Wyalusing. Their industry was soon rewarded by great prosperity, the rich lands of the valley producing food almost without cultivation. He had for his right-hand man, Job Chillaway, an Indian from Little Egg Harbor, who was an expert trader, and whose fluent English made him much in demand as interpreter. In May, 1760,

came the Moravian missionary, Christian Frederic Post; the text of the sermon which he preached to Papunahung and his people is given in the Pennsylvania Archives—*i.e.*, Luke II, 8-11.[1] In the next two years, Zeisberger, who had been placed in charge of these Indians, spent a good deal of time near Wyalusing, while Papunahung acted as his assistant in the long intervals when they were left much to themselves. He would appear during this time to have been on probation.

Much trading went on between these friendly Indians and Philadelphia, and Papunahung was usually with the traders. Such a visit, when he met the Friends in 1760, is described in a rare little pamphlet published in London in 1761.[2] A year later, a more important visit was made, and a meeting held in the house of Anthony Benezet, in Philadelphia, when John Woolman, who was present, took ample notes of the remarks of Papunahung. These notes are still preserved[3] and form the substance of the statements made by Proud, in his History of Pennsylvania.

In spring of 1763, John Woolman met one of these trading parties in Philadelphia, and having for some time desired to visit them in their own settlement, he decided to accompany the Indiams home, and accordingly obtained a certificate from his meeting for the purpose. He had long known Papunahung; his account of the journey to the Susquehanna country is given in his Journal and need not here be repeated. It is, however, well to clear up the situation, from the light which Bishop de Schweinitz,

[1] Post became so thoroughly identified with the Indians as to marry in succession two Indian wives! Eventually, he came under the influence of the Episcopalians, and before he died in 1784, joined that church. His death occurred in Germantown and he was buried in the graveyard at that place, Bishop White preaching his funeral sermon.

[2] "Account of a Visit lately made to the People called Quakers in Philadelphia, by Papoonahoal, An Indian Chief, and several other Indians, chiefly of the Minisink Tribe, with the Substance of their Conferences on that Occasion. London. S. Clark. Bread St. 1761." A copy is in the Library of Haverford College, Pa.

[3] They are in the Pemberton Collection, Hist. Soc. of Penna. A note by Sarah Woolman makes it evident that they were placed at Proud's disposal. Ms. copies, with account of the visit in 1760, are to be found in the Boston Public Library, and at Westtown School.

and other historians as well as the records of the Moravian church, cast upon this incident.

The Moravian mentioned by Woolman was David Zeisberger, who was accomplished in various Indian dialects, and who translated into their own language for the Indians, the German hymns of the Moravian church.[4] We have no record of any Quaker who ever went to the pains of mastering the Indian's own tongue, and therefore reaching them with the power and conviction which has made the work of the Moravians in the colonial period so impressive. Zeisberger had been in Wyalusing on May 23, and had found the Indians in council, determined to embrace the tenets of the first Christian missionary who came to them. Four days later he was hastening back to Bethlehem, with his report. Possibly the mother-church had learned through Anthony Benezet,[5] or some one else in close touch with both parties, that the Quaker visit impended, for Brother Zeisberger was promptly despatched back again with his Christian guide, Nathaniel, fully authorized to receive into the church all converts who were genuinely sincere. Zeisberger set out June 10th, overtaking and passing John Woolman and his companion, Benjamin Parvin, who arrived at Wyalusing the day after. The labors of the two were harmonious. Woolman says, "Although Papunahung had before agreed to receive the Moravian and to join with them, he appeared kind and loving to us." On the 21st the Indians decided in favor of the Moravian faith, when Woolman left, praying for the success of his companion. Five days later the baptisms took place, and Papunahung received the name of *John*, being thereafter known as John Papunahung, or "Munsey John." Bishop de Schweinitz says, "God overruled the man's discourses to the awakening of his tribe." Papunahung had a wife, Ann Joanna, and a daughter. He was made a missionary assistant, and labored faithfully for the church until his death, which occurred at Schönbrunnen, May 15th, 1775, at the age of seventy.

[4] A copy of this interesting little book is in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[5] Anthony Benezet's sister had married Thomas Bartow, a minister of the Moravian church, at that time settled at Bethlehem as preacher.

There is much reference to the Indians, Teedyuscung and Papunahung, in the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, Philadelphia, as well as in the Archives of Pennsylvania. Tract no. 50, entitled "John Papunahung the Converted Indian" published at 304 Arch Street by the Tract Association, gives no facts, and leaves the impression that the savage was a Quaker convert. In reality, Papunahung's conversion was one of the first fruits of the labors of David Zeisberger. The tract should be recalled or rewritten for it does not give a true impression of the facts.

AMELIA M. GUMMERE.

A VISIT TO FRIENDS IN CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1819.

INTRODUCTION.

The following paper is a portion of the original private journal of Ellis Yarnall (1757–1847), one of a committee sent by the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia to investigate the conditions of the remnant of Friends in Charleston, South Carolina. One sheet of the journal is lost, and the journal breaks off abruptly. The committee made a brief report, not long after their return, to a Meeting held 1 month 20, 1820, and a detailed report which closely agrees with the journal, 3d month 17, 1820. Here the matter seems to have rested. The standing committee on the Charleston matter reported 4 month 12, 1822, and again 4 month 15, 1825, when it was stated only two members attended the meeting. Another report, similar in character, was made 4 month 1826.

There has been much misconception in regard to the Charleston property, and the "Charleston Fund." It is quite clear from the records that had not Philadelphia Friends stepped into the breach, and advanced and expended considerable sums of money, the whole property would have lapsed to the State. In the final adjustment it was proper that the Meeting which had shouldered the responsibility, should have the disposition of the fund. As a matter of fact Charleston Meeting appears to have been an inde-

pendent meeting during the greater part of its existence. Its connection with North Carolina Yearly Meeting was little more than formal at any time.

The history of Charleston Meeting is not a cheerful one, and it has never been recounted in full in print.

A Bibliography is given at the end of the Journal.

EDITOR.

THE JOURNAL.

John Cook, Israel W. Morris and myself [Ellis Yarnall] being under appointment by the Meeting for Sufferings[1] to pay a visit to those who profess with Friends and reside in the City of Charleston, South Carolina, in order to ascertain the state of the Meeting that has been held there for many years and not under the regular care of any Meeting for Discipline, the situation of the members who compose it, and circumstances relative to the tenure of the property belonging to the Society in that place, on the 7th of 11th month 1819, we went down to New Castle in the steamboat, having previously engaged our passage on board of the ship *Pennsylvania,* Captain William Bunce. On board of which [this ship] we embarked off New Castle [the] 9th, but did not get to sea till the 13th on account of head winds. We found a large number of passengers chiefly southern people who had spent the summer to the northward, and were returning home. To lay at anchor day after day with such a crowd was some tryal of our patience. We, however, went on shore at Ready [Reedy] Island, took a walk of several miles through the country which, with the town of Port Penn, [Delaware] exhibited evident marks of neglected agriculture and decayed trade. The passengers on board were politely attentive to us, but their habits and deportment, so different from what we had been accustomed, required a watchful care on our part to maintain our

[1] Meeting for Sufferings mo. 17, 1819. John Cook, Israel W. Morris, and Ellis Yarnall were appointed to "investigate conditions, take charge of deeds, papers, etc., and place them and the Estate in such hands as may be most likely to promote a due execution of the Trust devolved on this Meeting." *Ms. Records.*

religious testimonies without giving occasion of offence. We were particularly tryed with the free use they made of brandy at the table, and believed it right to set an example of temperance in confining our drink very much to water.

The wind coming fair on 7th day morning, 13th, we weighed anchor and with a stiff breeze ran down the bay and before 12 o'clock was at sea with a fine wind, which the Captain fondly hoped would waft us to Charleston in three days. But how frequently does this fickle element disappoint the expectation of those who are necessarily dependent on it. Before the next morning it changed and came nearly from the quarter to which we were bound and continued so for about two days. Yet by the skill of our commander we were able to make some advance on our course. Our curiosity was gratified with appearance of several large shoals of porpoises.

20th, 7 o'clock. Arrived at Charleston; boarded at Eliz[a]. Beauford.

21, 10 o'clock went to Meeting house situated in King Street, east side, near to Queen St., is a small frame building raised and supported on brick pillars 2 or 3 feet above the surface of the ground. Piazza on the south side and front. Contains a raised seat for ministers and bench under it, and 10 benches which hold 5 or 6 persons each; will seat 60 or 70 persons. Present D[aniel]. Latham, J[ohn]. K[irk]., Wm. Wadsworth, Joshua Nevil, J. Coates, 2 of D. L.'s daughters, B. Swift, a stranger, member of Society from Sandwich, Massachusetts, and ourselves, in all 11. Dined at D. Latham's. His wife an elderly woman, and daughters, gay, not members. He is a distiller. 3 o'clock, to Meeting. D. L., J. K., B. Swift, J. Coates, W. W., C. West, L. and E. Clemment, 11. Tea at C. W.

22d, 2d day. Obtained from John Kirk the Minute Book and title papers. First minute by an introduction by Wm. Piggot evincing a zeal for the cause of truth, by which it appears that in the early settlement of this country, South Carolina, "the lord had a tender people who were by the world in scorn called Quakers, but by reason of some going out of the country, the death of most of the ancients together with the unfaithfulness of many

of their offspring, the number of those who walked in the Law of the Lord became very small, so that by the best account it appears that for some considerable time there was no meeting for worship, and for 20 years and upwards no settled meeting for business. Yet after a time the Lord was pleased to raise up a remnant who became concerned to meet together and wait upon Him, who were also visited at times by several of the Lord's messenger's from other parts. Yet their meeting continued low and poor; and even after this, had liked to have fallen again in the year 1716 which poverty of this meeting I was witness to."

By the first Minute in 1718 the meeting house and lot was placed under the care of Thomas Kimberley. From this time till about 1726 a concern appears to have been manifested for the good order of Society meetings [?] being regularly held and Epistolary correspondence with London and Philadelphia Yearly Meetings. But from this time a slackness appears, the Minutes not regular; from 1737 to 1750 no Minute appears. Minutes under the title of Meetings for Conference were occasionally held. 1753, on the visit of Mary Peisley and Catharine Payton, agreed a Week Day Meeting [be] resumed; and after noting the visit of Samuel Fothergill and Israel Pemberton in 1755, we find no further Minutes except a memorandum, 12 of 6 month, 1784, during the religious visit of A. Lancaster, a proposition being made to hold a meeting on 4th day; agreed to without opposition, and has been since kept up. 23rd, 3d day. Meeting with John Kirk and D. Latham on account of differences [between them]. Only Friends known to be Friends, met at 9 o'clock.

4th day. Attended meeting. D[aniel]. Latham and John Kirk all that attended except ourselves. John Kirk said it often occurred that no others attended and sometimes he sat quite alone. Further conversation with D. L. also on account of his business of distilling. J. Hopkins and J. Coates called on us. I observed that we had not their company at Meeting. J. C. mentioned the impracticability of his attending on 4th days; J. H. stated he had not attended meetings for a long time. Said a certificate had been forwarded to Bush River [Monthly Meeting, S. C.], many years ago, but he forfeited his right by holding slaves.

Went to dine with J. K. who was busily engaged in preparing papers for a captain to sail in the morning. D. L. came in; J. K. asked him to sit down but not very cordially. D. L. said he came in order to try to settle with J. K., who declined attending to it that afternoon on account of his engagements above stated; appointed to meet at our lodging to-morrow morning. D. L. came home with us. Handed a number of Friends' books and tracts. Went to see Joshua Nevil who has resided here a number of years; had a birthright in Society in Mountmellick in Ireland, left there in his 14th year, has been married but not disowned; his wife and family of the Methodists; his son Henry, a young man, we were interested in; appeared to be thoughtful person. After taking tea with them, Joshua and Henry came home with us, to whom we handed books.

5th day morning J. K. and D. L. called at our lodging, where, after a time of silence D. L. being invited, to, stated what he had in prospect as a means of effecting a reconciliatory [*sic*] which was accepted by J. K. and they mutually agreed to that all animosity should cease and that no old or former transactions should be called up on either side to disturb their future harmony.

Proceeded to make inquiry respecting their meeting and situation of the persons who attend it, and their respective rights as to membership.

John Kirk, his right at Bush River Monthly Meeting.

Daniel Latham, at Phil[adelphia] Meeting.

J. Hopkins, his right at Bush River. Does not consider himself entitled to membership, as he holds slaves; has not been disowned, but makes no profession and seldom, if ever, attends meeting.

J. Coates, married out, but not disowned; his right in Philadelphia. Seldom attends.

Joshua Nevil, never been disowned; his right of membership in Ireland. Attends meeting mostly on First days.

William Wadsworth attends on First day morning and occasionally in the afternoon; a single man, not a member.

William Turpin, when in Charleston sometimes attends. Not a member.

Elizabeth and Lydia Clemment, attend on First day morning; members of Northern District Meeting [Philadelphia].

Charles [L.] West, and wife sometimes attend First day morning. Not members.

Daniel Latham's wife and two daughters sometimes attend; not members.

John Kirk informed us that he had divers times thought and wished it to engage the serious attention of Friends, whether in the state of Friends here, the continuing a Meeting was to the reputation of Society. Was informed that was a subject would be likely to engage the attention of the Yearly Meeting, and we were desirous of so dipping into the state of Society here as would enable us to make correct report for them to act upon.

After J. K. had withdrawn, had an opportunity of inquiring of Daniel Latham respecting some black persons in his family said to be slaves. D. L. acknowledged they were slaves held by his wife, a mother and 4 children, the latter born in his house; the former had been given to his wife by her brother-in-law. I dined at Charles West's. In the evening took tea with Thomas Frazer's family; his wife, daughter Anna, and himself were passengers with us.

[Here, a page or sheet of the manuscript is lost. It probably related to the title etc. of the Meeting House and Lot. The following extract from an account given in *The Friend* (Philadelphia) (vol. 53: 289) will supply connection.]

"After having made use of this lot of ground [on King street near Queen street] for a considerable number of years without any regular title or fee in it, Friends in London applied to the King in Council to have the property duly invested; in consequence of which an order from King George the Second was issued to Robert Johnson, Governor of South Carolina, directing him to make a grant of the said lot of ground to Thomas Kimberly. . . . The Governor accordingly in the year 1731 grants the same under the seal of the Province to the said Friend . . . and calls it by the name it had long been known by, "*the Quakers' Lot*"; and with the express understanding and in the special trust and confidence, that a meeting house should be erected

thereon for the Society of Friends in Charleston, and the ground to be forever reserved for this special and declared purpose."[2] [This property was held by] Thomas Kimberly and from him regularly handed down by divers conveyances in trust to the present time, being the same lot on which the Meeting House stands, and back part let to Jacob Gass, being together 63½ feet front on King street, and in depth eastward 246 feet 6 inches on the north line, 88 feet 4 inches on the south line, and 256 feet 6 inches on the west line to King street, by Patent, containing one rood and 29 perches, besides which there was a small nook at the south east corner which J. K. sold by directions of the Carolina trustees, but for which we cannot find there was any title further than being in possession of Friends. The money, J. K. says he laid out in repairing Meeting House etc., 1803, but cannot give particulars as his books and papers have been destroyed by fire. Said to be sold for £30 per receipt dated 13th of 6 month 1801, a copy of which J. K. procured for us and showed to us; in confirmation of which, D. L. states that two or three Friends of the Carolina Trustees being in Charlestown consulted with J. K., T. Sykes and himself who all united in judgment that the lot should be sold, Friends having no other title to it but possession, and it was of no use to Friends, and that it was by their direction J. K. disposed of it. D. L. further states that the lot on the south side of the Meeting House lot as well as that on which D. Hall resides, both butting on the small nook alluded to above, were in possession of the present owners and had substantial brick buildings on them which appeared to have been built many years before he came here to reside in 1773, and that he had never heard of Friends possessing any other property than that above stated.

[2] The ground was so held, and by a combination of circumstances the Meeting of Sufferings of Philadelphia became Trustees. As all Friends had disappeared from Charleston without likelihood of any successors, the Meeting for Sufferings, acting under legal advice, petitioned the Legislature of South Carolina in 1876 to sell the same. This was granted with the proviso that the principal should be held and the income applied "for building, furnishing or repairing meeting-houses and their appurtenances, belonging to the Society of Friends, wherever the same may be located in the United States; or for any other similar use or uses."

I went in the morning to see Mary Stephens. In the afternoon rode out to Lucas's Rice Mill to view the several operations necessary for removing the husk and rendering fit for market. Returned in the evening to tea at Joseph Yeates, whose carriage Elizabeth, his wife, had sent to carry us to the rice mill on accidentally hearing of our intention of going, with a particular request to take tea with her where were a considerable collection of her friends.

3rd day morning. Ship prevented sailing by head winds. Called on several of the citizens who had shown attention to us. Left some books explanatory of our religious principles with some sober persons who appeared desirous of having them. I called on M. Stephens, and we all paid a visit to S. Grimke,[3] a sober young woman who had accompanied her father, in 6th month last, to Philadelphia, and to Long Branch on account of his health. At the latter place he died. After his death she spent a considerable time in Burlington, where she became acquainted with several Friends to whom she seemed attached. She was a passenger with us in the ship *Pennsylvania* from Philadelphia to Charleston, and manifested a very open and friendly

[3] Sarah M. Grimké (1792–1873), the elder of the two Grimké sisters who filled so large a place in the early Anti-Slavery days. They were the daughters of J. F. Grimké of Charleston, who was a large slaveholder. Soon after his death his daughters set free the slaves they had inherited. They came to reside in the north. Both sisters joined Friends, but their connection with the body was marked by much misunderstanding on both sides, and on the marriage of the younger "out of meeting," both were disowned (1838). Neither joined any other denomination.

The reference to this voyage in the biography of the sisters Grimké is as follows: "On the vessel which carried her from Philadelphia to Charleston, after her father's death, was a party of Friends; and in the seven days which it then required to make the voyage, an intimacy sprang up which influenced her whole after-life. From one of them (Israel W. Morris) she had accepted a copy of Woolman's works,—evidence that there must have been religious discussions between them." C. H. Birney, "Sarah and Angelina Grimké, a Biography." Boston, 1885, p. 29. For the close connection with the Morris family resort must be had to subsequent pages of this rather one-sided volume.

See also for brief notice, not quite accurate as to details, "Journal of Friends' Historical Society," London, 1917, vii, pp. 79, 80.

disposition towards us. We furnished her with some books relative to our religious principles which appeared very acceptable. In the evening took tea at Thomas Stephens, at the particular request of his wife. We spent the evening in social conversation with a number of citizens who came in, among whom was Elizabeth Yeates whose unaffected kindness and attention to us since we first met her at C. Tunis's has left a pleasing remembrance of her on our minds. The conversation this evening as well as at divers other times, turned upon the subject of slavery, and the usual mode of treating slaves, though I believe the subject was never introduced by us, but it was very evident that many serious people, especially among the females, consider the subject as a very interesting one and are very uneasy under it. E. Yeates, I think, always introduced it when in our company, her husband being a man of considerable property, a cooper by trade, she said owned 30 slaves, nearly all of whom he employed in his business. She seemed very desirous that way might open in his mind to manumit them. I have no doubt she felt, as she expressed it, to be her duty to treat them kindly; often adverted to the cruelty exercised on their persons by some of their masters, who, for uttering an expression, which they consider impertinence, would send them to the House of Correction, have them severely flogged and confined in dungeon with little or no food during their pleasure, with other instances of cruelty shocking to humanity. Yet we had reason to believe that many of these poor people were tenderly used and their situation rendered comfortable.

[End of manuscript.]

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Note. The above Mss. are in possession of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 304 Arch St., Philadelphia.

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AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FRENCHMAN ON AMERICAN QUAKERISM IN PENNSYLVANIA.

[Moreau de Saint-Méry (1750–1819) was a distinguished Frenchman who was in exile in the United States, 1793–1798. He was born on the island of Martinique, went to France, and became prominent in the early days of the Revolution. He was a moderate reformer, opposed to violent methods, and thereby incurred the enmity of Robespierre and was forced to fly with his family to America. He lived nearly four years in Philadelphia, having a book-shop and printing establishment first at the corner of Front and Walnut streets and then at the corner of Front and Callowhill. His *Voyage aux Etats-Unis de l'Amerique, 1793–1798*[1] is the record of his experiences and observations during his stay in America. Strange to say, though known to some scholars and historians, this volume lay in manuscript in Paris until 1903, when, through the perseverance of Professor S. L. Mims of Yale, it was transcribed, and then published by the Yale University Press. It has never been translated into English. The following extracts are, with one exception, all his references to Friends. The Quakers were, to him, apparently, incomprehensible, and it is quite evident that he did not come into close contact with the principal Friends of the day. What he says would seem to be from purely exterior observation and from hearsay. His remarks are nevertheless interesting as giving the impressions of an outsider and a foreigner.—EDITOR.]

Burlington and Bristol, Pennsylvania.

Opposite Bristol, but on the other bank (of the Delaware River) is Burlington, a town of Jersey, where there are about 200 dwellings (situated in part on an island where are 160) and an academy or place for education. The island includes 1000 whites and 100 slaves. The Quakers form the most numerous

[1] *Voyage aux États-Unis de L'Amérique, 1793–1798,* by Moreau De Saint-Méry, edited with an Introduction and Notes by Stewart L. Mims, Assistant Professor of History in Yale College. New Haven, Yale University Press, MCMXIII, pp. xxxvi, 440.

part of the population of Bristol, and it is this same circumstance to which is attributed the atmosphere of sadness [*tristesse*] which prevails in the place. Pp. 110, 111.

Philadelphia.

The Quakers, very numerous in Philadelphia, are nevertheless diminishing, because many of their children leave this communion. Moreover, one sees the coquetry of the young Quakeresses, who know how to combine their affected simplicity with very worldly tastes, which this sect would wholly eradicate.

It is to the influence and numbers of the Quakers at Philadelphia that one would attribute the dull customs of the city, where there is also less society than elsewhere. P. 310.

The protection which the Quakers profess to accord them [the negroes] is, as with all the acts of that sect, marked with the stamp of an arrogant humility. It is a patronage which seeks a numerous *clientèle* for its own profit. P. 324.

Delaware.

(Referring to a law forbidding any slave to be brought into the State of Delaware for sale within the State.) This law not having been retroactive, in favor of those who were already slaves, any manumission is a result of the zeal of the Quakers, and all those who do not wish to follow this movement have not been compelled to. P. 327.

Ministry among the Quakers.

It is necessary to recall what one knows, that the Quakers do not have a trained ministry, and that any one, whatever may be the sex, who believes himself inspired by the Spirit, takes the liberty and has also the sacred right of abusing it. P. 364.

Referring to the planting of trees in the cemeteries of Philadelphia.

The (cemetery) of the Quakers at the S. W. corner of Mulberry [now Arch] street and 4th street North has been the first

example and that of the Irish Catholics of the church of St. Mary which lies between 4th and 5th streets South, is the second. [Note of 1802.] P. 371.

Friends' Almshouse.

There is an almshouse of the Quakers on Walnut street between 3rd and 4th street. The Quakers put it under the care of a committee. This place is divided into apartments or chambers for the Quakers fallen into poverty. It has a large garden which furnishes the city with medicinal plants. P. 383.

BOOKS OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

The Story of George Fox. By Rufus M. Jones. . . . New York, The Macmillan Company, 1919. 5 × 7½ in. Pp. xii, 169. $1.25.

The author of this book having already tried his hand with "St. Paul, the Hero," has in this volume attempted a still harder work. That he has been as successful as he has been is greatly to his credit. The narrative is lively and interesting to adults, but how it will appeal to the youth can only be tested by experiment. To set forth Fox's spiritual teaching and experiences in a way to reach immature minds is indeed difficult, and the author has rightly not attempted a dissertation on the "inward light," but set it forth incidentally, and dwelt most on Fox's unflinching following of duty, no matter what might be the consequences. This appeals to very young minds, and the presentation, as it is exhibited in Fox's life, cannot help being effective.

A few slips may be noted: the great Puritan statesman is better known as Pym rather than *Pim* (page 12); Firbank Chapel is not at Preston Patrick (page 40), but about four miles from Sedbergh. It would have been well to cite the case of the children in Bristol keeping up the meeting as well as that at Reading (page 108), mentioning in each case the persecution endured.

The Last of the Mayflower. By Rendel Harris. Manchester, at the University Press. Longmans, London, New York, etc. 1920. 6 × 9½ in. Pp. vi, 122.

Last year Rendel Harris indulged in fancy and imagination regarding the "Mayflower" in his "Return of the Mayflower, An Interlude"; this year he gives a careful historical study of the life of this famous ship. This study is marked by the same keen scent for facts exhibited in all his work, and the same able marshalling of the evidence collected. His con-

clusion only can be stated. It is that she was a whaler almost continually both before and after his historic voyage. During the period 1626–1640 she made two voyages (1629–1630) carrying Puritans to Massachusetts Bay; later she was in the New England and London trade via the West Indies. In 1653 she carried goods to Boston for "John Eliot, the apostle of the Red Indians and his disciples." This fact gives the opportunity for the introduction of three interesting letters of John Eliot, and a Bill of Lading of the "Mayflower," 1653. The "Mayflower" was in Boston, 1654, but no trace of her can be found after that year. The old ship must have given out at last. "Most likely she was broken up in Boston, or perhaps in the Thames on her last voyage to London."

An Appendix contains another letter of John Eliot (1653), and several letters of the Hanmer family, early Nonconformists of Barnstaple (1659–1691).

The author is to be congratulated on clearing up many questions regarding the famous ship.

The Christian Ideal, a Study of the Meaning of Christianity. By William E. Wilson, B.D. . . . London, The Swarthmore Press [1919]. *Christian Revolution Series,* No. VI. 5 × 7½ in. Pp. 255. 5s. net.

The author of this volume, though a descendant of the old Quaker families of Wilson and Braithwaite of Kendal, is not a birthright member, but one by convincement.

The book is a twentieth century view of the subject, as may be inferred from its being one of the "Christian Revolution Series." It is deeply reverent, and closely in accord with Quaker ideals, though nothing in the volume refers to Friends or their principles by name. Some readers may think on the subject of Redemption the author's view is "too modern," but no one can deny that there is food for close thought in his presentation.

The great aim before the Christian is Life; and the fullest life, in the author's words, may be thus defined: "A constantly developing life, always enlarging its power and scope by harmonious co-operation, in a society organically one, under the completest control of God. This is individual life, but it is also communal life." Like the theme in a musical fugue, this idea runs through the whole book.

Under the headings, "Punishment," "Justice," "Judgment of Others," "Domination and Service," "Toleration and Truth," "Self-sacrifice and Vocation," and others, he analyzes current and popular views, and points out where they fail in reaching the Christian Ideal, if indeed they are not sometimes in direct opposition to it.

The author's arguments and statements are clear and often very forcible. To those who feel their ideas need clarifying, and to many who have felt the lack of sustaining arguments, this book is likely to be very helpful.

Short as the volume is, it might have been condensed to advantage.

For instance, a "Summary" is repeated three times, nearly word for word, within six pages (pp. 65–71). The impression is that the chapters were given to a class and then combined into a book. This is a minor fault. The book can be commended as a sincere, clear, and forcible presentation of old truths in modern expression.

The Inward Light, A Drama in Four Acts. By Allen Davis and Anna R. Stratton. . . . New York, Alfred A. Knopf. 5 × 7½ in. Pp. 135.

This is an unusual book. A prose drama in which all the characters are Friends except two, who for the sake of the plot are of necessity non-members. The work is well thought out and is on a high, reverent level, and reflects great credit on the authors, who are unknown to the reviewer. The motif of the play is to represent human action as influenced and directed by the "inward light" or illumination which a man may possess. The scene is laid in Pennsylvania, just before and just after the opening of the Civil War, 1861. That about which the action revolves is the question whether, under any circumstances, war is allowable to the Quaker. There is the "Conscientious Objector," in this case a man well on in middle life, and the young men and the young women, who, though hating war, feel, also conscientiously, according to *their* "inward light," that under certain circumstances, war *is* justifiable. The authors express no opinion, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions; but it would seem that, though admiring the unflinching attitude of the older man, they side with the younger. Nevertheless, it may mean that no more is intended than to set forth that difficult, even tragic, situation so sadly familiar to us in these days, when to many war seemed the only resource.

The real protagonist of the play is the older man, who holds to his convictions in the face of loss of business, most of his property, the enlistment and death of his only son, the disownment (for enlistment) of the fiancé of his daughter, and the daughter remaining faithful to her fiancé. On this character is lavished great care and with the undoubted success of arousing the sympathy of the reader. But to a *Friend* the portrayal shows many slips, mainly in the style of expression which savors more of the Puritan than of the Quaker. A wide personal acquaintance among the Friends of the period has failed to reveal, to memory, at least, any one like David Worthington in his "talk." The inference, moreover, is that he holds to his position because he is a *Friend* rather than because of personal conviction, which position is clearly that of the younger characters. There may have been such, but they were not typical any more than the younger characters were typical of their position.

The scenes when the tidings of the fall of Fort Sumter, and the reverse at the first battle of Bull Run are received, are in accord with the reviewer's personal experiences at the time.

It is a risky thing for outsiders, or those but slightly acquainted with

their practices, to describe the practices of Friends, and our authors do not escape pitfalls. There are comparatively few lapses in the case of the Pennsylvania Friendly methods of conversation, but no Friend would be likely in those days to write, "Seventh day (Saturday), April, 13, 1861," and other similar expressions (p. 16). If he said *Seventh day* he would also say *Fourth* month (April). But perhaps the greatest slip is the *Disownment* scene (pp. 117–130). This, though dramatic in conception and execution, is most improbable as described. In the first place, the Monthly Meeting is represented as being composed of men and women—a joint meeting—something which was practically unknown in 1861 among Friends everywhere, and could have taken place least of all in Pennsylvania. The question of disownment would have been wholly in the hands of men Friends, and the Women's Meeting would have been informed only of the conclusion reached. Again, the non-member is represented as being *present*—an unheard of thing *then,* and unusual at the present time. These remarks are simply to show that those who write about Quaker practices would be wise to have their manuscripts read by Friends really familiar with Quaker practices both past and present.

"The Problem of the Juvenile Delinquent," by Thomas H. Haines, M.D.; and, *"Some Phases of Prison Reforms,"* by Albert H. Votaw. 1919.

The above is a pamphlet of 31 pages issued by the Representative Meeting of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. Dr. Haines, a Haverford graduate of 1896, is Professor of Nervous and Mental Diseases, State University of Ohio at Columbus. His tract is a strong plea, for wiser—one might truly say common-sense—methods in the treatment of delinquents, and especially for taking them in their youth before they become hardened or are developed into criminals.

The second tract by the well-known Secretary of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, is a plea for better, more sympathetic, and more scientific treatment of those confined in prison. He rightly says, "The main evil in all our jails is the prevalence of idleness and the consequent demoralization." In spirit Isaac Watts' old couplet "Satan finds some mischief still, For idle hands to do," is yet true both inside and outside of jails. It is a serious reflection that politics, the jealousy of laborers and of manufacturers, and public indifference are responsible for such conditions as exist in many, perhaps most, of our jails and prisons. Some recent events hold out a hope that the public is being aroused to the necessity of reform in prison management.

The Pennsbury Series of Modern Quaker Books. Edited by Isaac Sharpless. I. *Political Leaders of Provincial Pennsylvania,* by Isaac Sharpless, $2.00; II. *George Fox, An Autobiography,* by Rufus M. Jones, $2.00; III. *Man's Relation to God,* by John Wilhelm Rowntree, $1.50; IV.

A History of the Friends in America, by Allen C. Thomas, $1.50; V. *A Service of Love in War Time,* by Rufus M. Jones, $2.00 (ready early in 1920). Philadelphia, Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch St. 5½ × 8¼ in., cloth; uniform in size and binding.

This series of Quaker books has been conceived in a broad and liberal spirit, and in every way reflects credit on those who planned it and on the Editor who gave much time and thought to the selection, and whose discriminating judgment will be so greatly missed in the future. It is not needful to give any extended notice of these volumes. The first has recently been reviewed in the *Bulletin*; the second and third have already been some years before the public; the fourth, in this new and enlarged edition, is noticed elsewhere in this number; while the fifth is eagerly expected, some unavoidable delays having held back the issue. It is to be hoped that the death of the Editor will not cause much delay in issuing other volumes in the series as they seem to be called for. The series deserves a large sale.

The Orient in Bible Times. By Elihu Grant, Professor of Biblical Literature in Haverford College. 30 Illustrations. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1920. 5½ × 8 in. Pp. ix, 336. $2.50 net.

What does the average Bible reader know about the "nations around" the Hebrew lands in Bible times? We fear very little. This attractive volume aims to give such information in a non-technical and interesting way. It is a difficult piece of work well done. It was impossible not to give some historical details of monarchs bearing strange, and, to us, uncouth names, and also of kingdoms which are very shadowy to most of us, but this necessary part has been minimized as much as possible.

Isolated as the Hebrews were, and wished to be, they could not withdraw themselves from the world around them—indeed their geographical position forbade it. This volume throws great light on the extent of this intercourse, particularly so during the time of the great prophets of Israel, whose words cannot be rightly understood without some knowledge of this kind. If some of the Bible commentators had possessed even a little of it,

"It wad from many a blunder *freed them*
And foolish notion."

Chapters on Palestine today as illustrating the Bible, and on the political background for New Testament Times are very helpful.

The thirty illustrations are admirably reproduced from photographs. A Map at the end of the volume is probably as good as one covering so long a period of time could be. One showing the Hittite sphere of influence at its greatest extent would have been useful.

The Time of Her Life and Other Stories. By Maude Robinson. Illustrated by Percy Bigland. The Swarthmore Press, Ltd., London, 1919. 5¼ × 8 in. Pp. 261. 6s. net.

This attractive volume is a collection of twelve stories for young people, some of which appeared first in the *Friends Quarterly Examiner.* The subjects of all are Friendly and are usually founded on fact, often in connection with family history. They aim to illustrate periods of Quaker history from 1682 to 1875. The author has been remarkably successful in reproducing Quaker atmosphere in a simple and pleasant way. The four illustrations in color by our Friend Percy Bigland, though somewhat lacking in force, are a great addition. The artist, however, has not escaped the error of Benjamin West and others in making Penn look much older than he was at the time of the story—1682. At this date Penn was but thirty-eight and athletic for his age. He is represented as a rather portly man of about fifty or more. The volume is to be highly commended.

Christ in Christian Thought. Notes on the Development of the Doctrine of Christ's Person. By Edward Grubb, M.A. London, James Clarke & Co. 1920. 5 × 7¾ in. Pp. 161

This small volume is a revised edition of the author's "Bible Notes, vol. viii," 1912. It gives in brief but clear compass a résumé of various views regarding the person of Christ from the New Testament to the present time. The great lack of the book is the failure to supply any data regarding the Medieval, Reformation, or Post-Reformation periods. There is a good Index.

My Ancestors. By Norman Penney, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S. Printed for Private Circulation by Headley Brothers, London, 1920. 6¾ × 8⅝ in. Pp. xvi, 236. Illustrations. 21s. Net.

This genealogical record is the result of many years of research in that attractive field, when once entered, of Genealogy. There are about forty families mentioned with more or less fulness. Among the individuals is one whose name is well-known in America though very few know who he was or where he came from—Jeremiah Dixon (1733–1779) who with Charles Mason (1730–1787) ran the celebrated Mason and Dixon line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, which was for so long the boundary between the slave and free States. There is an unusual number of sketches of persons, anecdotes and allusions of interest. The illustrations comprise portraits, views of houses, places (country and town), and various items of genealogical and historical interest. Our friend is to be congratulated on his success. The issue is restricted to 250 copies. The book can be had from the author, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E. C. 2.

A History of the Friends in America. By Allen C. Thomas, A.M., Assisted by Richard H. Thomas, M.D. Fifth Edition, Revised and Enlarged by Allen C. Thomas, A.M. Philadelphia, The John C. Winston Co. 1919. "The Pennsbury Series of Modern Quaker Books," Friends' Book Store, 304 Arch St. 5½ × 8¼ in. Pp. 285. $1.50.

All who are interested in the history of American Quakerism will be glad that the Pennsbury Series includes a revised and enlarged edition of this work. The original volume was prepared by Professor Allen C. Thomas, of Haverford College, assisted by his brother Richard H. Thomas, M.D., of Baltimore. For a quarter of a century it has been the standard short history of Friends in America. This new edition, brought down to the middle of 1919, gives it a considerable claim to further life and usefulness.

The main body of the text shows little change from the edition of 1905 save that some additional information and references to recent works on Quaker history have been added in the footnotes.

A new chapter has been written covering the years 1905–1919. This chapter opens with a view of the various groups of American Friends, with some reference to the developments within each group. This is followed by a more particular discussion of certain topics, such as The Pastoral System, Foreign Missions, Education, and the work among Indians and Negroes.

The most vital contribution to the new section is the part dealing with the Great War (pp. 245–253). Here is a succinct account of the struggle of Friends, in the face of misunderstanding and persecution, to exemplify anew "that life and power that takes away the occasion for all wars." The story of persecutions undergone and relief work undertaken is here told by one who can visualize these events against a complete background of Quaker history.

Throughout the account of recent years the work of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland is depicted, and its influence upon American Quakerism suggested.

The statistics, to 1918, are a welcome addition to the book. The new reference notes and supplementary bibliography will prove useful to those who wish to carry further the study of Quaker history in its various phases.

Finally it should be said that most readers scarcely realize the amount of painstaking research (often including many hours in verifying a single figure) that is required to produce such a condensed historical account, dealing with so many aspects of subject matter and such widely scattered groups of people. A bulky work seems more impressive at first sight. The smaller volume often represents quite as much research, and also a finer art in condensation and perspective. Friends and others are again placed under obligation to Professor Thomas for this further product of his industry and skill.

R. W. K.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

AN OPINION OF THE QUAKERS IN 1690.—"That Great and General Contempt they lie under, does not hinder me from thinking the Sect of the Quakers to be by far the most considerable of any that divide from us, in case the Quakerism that is generally held be the same with that which Mr. *Barclay* has delivered to the World for such; whom I take to be so great a Man, that I profess to you freely, I had rather engage against an Hundred *Bellarmins, Hardings,* or *Stapyltons,* than with one *Barclay.*"[1]

John Norris (1657–1711), "Treatises Concerning the Divine Light," Edition of 1724, p. 251.

"OLDEST INSURANCE COMPANY IN THE WORLD."—George Vaux, Jr., of Philadelphia, writes to the Editor regarding a Note in the last number of the BULLETIN: "There is a statement on page 47 of the last number of the BULLETIN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY which I think is untrue, and hence I call thy attention to it. The statement is made that the Philadelphia Contributionship, the old 'Hand-in-Hand,' is the oldest insurance company in the *world.* The Hand-in-Hand was modeled after the original Hand-in-Hand which was organized in London in 1696. The device of the American company was a copy of that used in England. This company was absorbed in 1898 by the Commercial Union Insurance Company of London, which still uses the old device of the hand-in-hand as its emblem.

"The next company in point of age was the Sun of London organized in 1710. I believe it is still in existence.

"The Philadelphia Contributionship was organized in 1752, and is the oldest insurance company in America. The next in age is, I believe, the Mutual Assurance Company founded in 1784. It is familiarly known as the 'Green Tree,' also from its badge or emblem."

[Our correspondent is correct, we believe. It should be noted, however, that there were insurance companies in England before any named above. In 1681, sixteen insurers bound themselves, apparently somewhat after the manner of Lloyds, to insure buildings against loss by fire. Their badge or emblem was a Phoenix in the flames, and their men wore "liveries." Another society called The Friendly Society was formed in 1684 for a similar purpose. This was a larger body than the other, and it seems to have been

[1] R. F. Bellarmine (1542–1621), an Italian Roman Catholic controversialist; Thomas Hardings (1516–1572), an English controversialist, first Protestant and then Roman Catholic; Thomas Stapylton (or Stapleton) (1535–1598), a Roman Catholic controversialist.

on the mutual basis. Its emblem was a Sheaf of Arrows. Both were in existence in 1707, but the writer has not been able to trace their history further.

(See G. Miege, "Present State of Britain," London, 1707, pp. 140, 141.) EDITOR.]

WHITTIER'S QUARTERS IN PHILADELPHIA.—"Oak Knoll, Danvers, Mass., 4 mo. 2. 1889. Dear Friend:—I am glad to know that my old quarters at 112 N. Seventh St. are so well occupied at the present time.

"I am free to say that I have a feeling of much unity with thy father and his companion in their proposed visit to Great Britain. I cannot but believe that it is in the truth, and that the way will be open for them as representatives of the principles and testimonies of our Early Friends, from which there have been sad departures on both sides of the Atlantic. I am truly thy friend, John G. Whittier."

The above was written to Hannah P. Morris in response to her request concerning the "House of Industry" for sewing women in Philadelphia. At a reception held there by its patrons in 1889, a visitor said that during Anti-Slavery Days John G. Whittier occupied a certain room, as it was then a dwelling. The building is not standing now. H. P. M.

Our friend, Rendel Harris, whose "Last of the Mayflower" is noticed elsewhere, is the Chairman of the National Committee on the Mayflower Tercentenary Celebration of the sailing of the vessel.

Probably few readers of L. Violet Hodgkin's Swarthmore Lecture, 1919, have noticed the similarity of her title and that of an early Quaker tract by William Britten of Bristol, England (died 1669), "SILENT MEETING a Wonder to the World; yet practiced by the APOSTLES and owned by the PEOPLE OF GOD scornfully called Quakers. By William Britten. London: Printed by Robert Wilson . . . 1660." 4to.

This tract was reprinted in 1671, 1675, and in 1851. It did not escape the watchful eye of William C. Braithwaite, for he quotes it in his "Beginnings of Quakerism," pp. 509, 510.

L. Violet Hodgkin has a brief paper in the *Saturday Westminster Gazette*, February 14, 1920. on "Flowering Plants in Old London."

"The Prince of Brunswick . . . arrived at Somerset House last Friday evening; at Chelmsford a Quaker walked into the room, *did* pull off his hat and said, 'Friend, my religion forbids me to fight, but I honor those that fight well.' The Prince, though he does not speak English, understands it enough to be pleased with the compliment." Horace Walpole, Letter to Sir Horace Mann, Jan. 18, 1764.

This was Prince Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick. He married, 1764, Augusta, daughter of George II. Their daughter was the unfortunate Car-

oline who married George, Prince of Wales, afterward George IV.

Horses at Yearly Meeting in the Olden Days.—"At a Yearly Meeting for the Western Shore of Maryland and the adjacent parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia, held in Baltimore by adjournment from the 13th of the 10th Month to the 19th of the same inclusive, 1796. The Committee having charge of the Pasture lot for Baltimore Yearly Meeting, report, that upwards of 300 horses have been put into the lot, the time of holding this Yearly Meeting, & there is likely to be a competency of hay & pasture to last them to the end of the present week." From the Ms. Minutes.

Quaker Wit. Alexander Fordyce (d. 1789) was a partner in the firm of Neale, James, Fordyce and Down, who failed disastrously June 10, 1772. They carried many houses down with them, and many lost heavily through them. Fordyce absconded.

While trying to bolster up the firm Fordyce went seeking a loan to an old Quaker, who said to him: "Friend Fordyce, I have known several persons ruined by *two dice*; but I will not be ruined by Four Dyce."

Charles II. and Richard Carver. —"Yesterday there was a Friend with the King, one that is John Grove's mate: he was the man that was mate to the master of the fisher-boat that carried the King away, when he went from Worcester fight; and only this Friend and the master knew of it in the ship: and the Friend carried him [the King] ashore on his shoulders. The King knew him again, and was very friendly to him; and told him he remembered him, and of several things that was done in the ship at the same time. The Friend told him, the reason why he did not come forward all this while[1] was,—that he was satisfied in that he had peace and satisfaction in himself, that he did what he did to relieve a man in distress: and now he desired nothing of him, but that he would set Friends at liberty, who were great sufferers, or to that purpose; and told the King he had a *pay* [supposed to be a list] of 110 that were premunired, that had lain in prison about six years, and none can release them but him. So the King took the *pay*,—and said, there were many of them, and that they would be in again in a month's time; and that the country gentlemen complained to him, that they were so troubled with the Quakers. So he said, he would release him six; but the Friend thinks to go to him again, for he had not fully relieved? himself."[2]

[1] Charles II. fled in 1651 and this letter is dated 16th of 11th mo. 1669 (1st mo. 16th 1670, New Style).

[2] Extract from a letter of Ellis Hookes to Margaret Fell (afterwards Margaret Fox), 1669. "Letters of Early Friends," London, 1837, pp. 170, 171. See also, Introduction to Graveson's Life of Thomas Ellwood, London, 1906; and for *John Grove*, ibid., 227.

A Joint Meeting. — The two branches of Friends holding their meetings respectively on Schoolhouse Lane ("Hicksite") and Coulter Street (Orthodox) came together in a joint meeting for worship in the Counter Street Meeting House on First-day evening First month 18th 1920. The meeting was well attended by Friends of both branches. The prevailing feeling at the close of the meeting seemed to be that it had been good to meet together, and the hope was expressed many times that such meetings might be frequently held. A similar meeting was expected to be held in the Schoolhouse Lane Meeting House at a later date.

"Quakers Swim Against the Stream."—Mr. Sylvanus Bevan, a Quaker and a friend of Mr. Matthew Green, was mentioning at Batson's coffee-house, that, while he was bathing in the river, a waterman saluted him with the usual insult of the lower class of people, by calling out "A Quaker, a Quaker, quirl!" (twirl or twist). He at the same time expressed his wonder how his profession could be known while he was without his cloathes. Green immediately replied that the waterman might discover him by his swimming against the stream.[1]

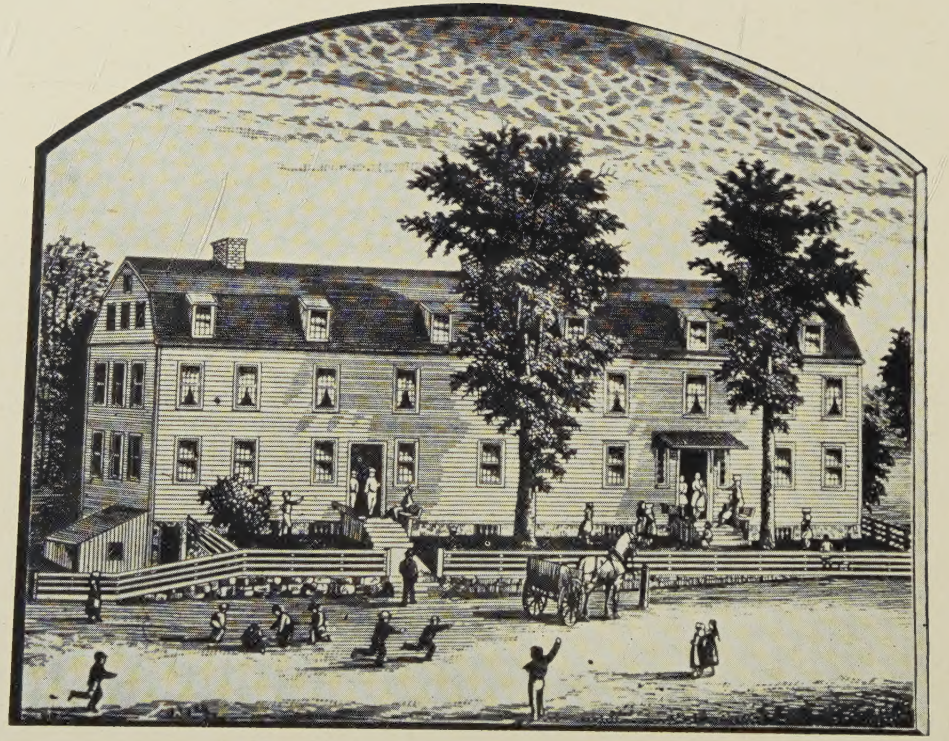
[1] Matthew Green (1697–1737) was an English poet who had quite a reputation in 18th century. His chief work was a semi-satiric poem, "The Spleen." He also wrote some "Verses on Reading Barclay's Apology." See "Chalmers' British Poets," XV. 159.

CORRECTION.

In the paper in the last number of the Bulletin (11th month, 1919), on "Old Milestones about Philadelphia," the author wishes to make the following corrections:

"The boundary stones between Delaware and Maryland are essentially the same as those between Maryland and Pennsylvania, being of oölitic limestone, with P on one side and M on the other, and the arms of Penn and Baltimore on every fifth stone. The only part of the boundary marked with stones of gneiss is the west end of the curved line about New Castle, Delaware, where it touched the possessions of Lord Baltimore. Why this is so I do not know. The gneiss stones came from local quarries, the limestones were prepared in England.

"There are two other corrections of minor importance. Dr. Ash's map of Delaware County was not published in 1865, but about fifteen years earlier, and the Providence Road was laid out by fourteen commissioners, and not five as I said. Finally, the Chester Town-Hall is the oldest City Hall in the United States 'in *continuous* use.' There is an older one in Yonkers, New York." (See also correction in Notes and Queries page 137.)



NINE PARTNERS SCHOOL, 1820.
From a woodcut after a drawing by Alexander H. Coffin, 1820.